

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SMS-02 SS-15 H-01 INR-10 EB-08
SP-02 /051 W

-----120362 071526Z /42

P R 071040Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0943

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 5483

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: XH US

SUBJECT: TESTIMONY ON EASTERN EUROPE BEFORE HIRC BY DAS LUERS

REF: STATE 194188

1. EMBASSY WELCOMES OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON SUGGESTED
OUTLINE FOR LUERS AUGUST 16 PRESENTATION TO HAMILTON
SUBCOMMITTEE, AS POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO IMPORTANT
EDUCATIONAL EXERCISE.

2. WITH REGARD TO FORMAT, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT SECTION III,
CURRENT TRENDS/THEMES, PRECEDE RATHER THAN FOLLOW SECTION II,
THE COUNTRY PROFILES.

3. WE RECOGNIZE THAT US POLICY FOCUS ON DEALING WITH EACH
EE COUNTRY INDIVIDUALLY, RATHER THAN AS FUNCTION OF US-SOVIETS
EQUATION, MAY FAVOR MOVING DIRECTLY FROM HISTORICAL/DEFINITIONAL
BACKGROUND TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY PROFILES. AT SAME
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TIME, EAST-WEST ASPECT IS AND WILL REMAIN BASIC IN DEFINING
WHAT EASTERN EUROPE IS AND WHY IT MATTERS, BOTH IN
REALITY AND IN PUBLIC POLICY DISCUSSIONS LIKE THIS ONE.
EVERY SECTION WILL NECESSARILY HIGHLIGHT IMPORTANCE OF
AREA AND INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY RELATIONS WITH USSR FOR US
POLICY. THUS, THERE IS LITTLE DANGER THAT THIS ASPECT
WILL BE OVERLOOKED, HOWEVER SECTIONS ARE ARRANGED, AND

PLACEMENT OF SECTIONS CAN BE DECIDED ON OTHER GROUNDS.

4. IN OUR VIEW, AREA-WIDE OVERVIEW OF CURRENT SITUATION IS NATURAL FOLLOW-ON TO HISTORICAL/DEFINITIAL INTRODUCTION IN SECTION I, AND WOULD PROVIDE NATUAL MATRIX FOR CONSIDERATION OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. MANY LISTENERS MAY BE INTERESTED PRIMARILY IN ONE OR ANOTHER EE COUNTRY, BUT WE BELIEVE THIS IS ARGUMENT FOR PROVIDING OVERALL CONTEXT FIRST. OTHERWISE, THERE MAY BE RISK THAT LISTENERS' ATTENTION WILL BE SPLINTERED AT OUTSET OF PRESENTATION. IF, HOWEVER, ONE MAJOR PURPOSE OF PRESENTATION IS TO DEMONSTRATE DIVERSITY, AS UNDERPINNING FOR US POLICY APPROACH FOCUSSED ON INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, MOST APPROPRIATE FORMAT WOULD BE OVERVIEW DEFINING SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES WITHIN AREA, FOLLOWED -- AS A THEOREM IS FOLLOWED BY PROOF -- BY INDIVIDUAL DEMONSTRATIONS ON COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BASIS.

5. IF THIS FORMAT SUGGESTION IS ACCEPTABLE, IT WOULD BE USEFUL, IN SECTIONS ON HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CURRENT TRENDS,THEMES, TO PROVIDE KIND OF OVERVIEW WHICH WILL HELP LISTENERS UNDERSTAND REASONS FOR LARGE DIVERSISITES AMONG COUNTRIES OF AREA. WE MAY STILL BE AT POINT WHERE DEMONSTRATION OF DIVERSITY IN AREA LONG THOUGHT TO BE MONOLITHIC IS SUFFICIENTLY IMPRESSIVE TO STAND ALONE. BUT IT WOULD DO NO HARM AND PERHAPS SOME GOOD, IN OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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VIEW, TO SUGGEST SOME REASONS FOR THIS DIVERSITY. AND, WHILE THERE IS NO NEED TO OVERLOAD PRESENTATION WITH SOCIAO-ECONOMIC JARGON (WHICH WILL PRESUMABLY FIGURE IN THOSE OF NON-GOVERNMENT EXPERTS), SOME CAUSES OF DIVERSITY DO IN FACT FALL IN THIS CATEGORY.

6. A GENERATION AGO ALL THESE COUNTRIES WERE UNDERDEVELOPED, IN SENSE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT WHICH HAS GAINED WORLDWIDE ACCEPTANCE. THERE WERE BUREAUCRATIC STATES OF RELATIVELY RECENT VINTAGE, WITH RELATIVELY VULNERABLE STRUCTURES AND FRONTIERS, IMPOSED ON TRADITIONAL AGRARIAN SOCIETIES. THEY HAD LARGE PEASANTRIES, SMALL MIDDLE CLASSES AND (PARTLY IN SURROGATE) RELATIVELY LARGE, VIGOROUS INTELLIGENTSIAS. THEY WERE LABOR RICH AND CAPITAL POOR. LIKE MANY UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES WE ARE FAMILIAR WITH TODAY, THEY OFTEN HAD ISLANDS OF INDUSTRY AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. BUT INDUSTRY WAS USUALLY CAPITALIZED AND EVEN OWED BY FOREIGNERS OR MEN FOREIGN TO THE ETHNIC MAJORITY, AND VERY OFTEN WORKED MAINLY FOR FOREIGN MARKETS, SINCE ALLL AREA COUNTRIES WERE UNDERURBANIZED, AND PEASANT PURCHASING POWER WAS TOO LOW TO SUPPORT LOCAL INDUSTRY ALONE. AREA WAS ALSO RELATIVELY POOR IN SOIL

QUALITY AND RAW MATERIALS, AGAIN WITH EXCEPTIONS LIKE ROMANIAN OIL OR POLISH COAL. CZECH LANDS CONSTITUTED ONLY REALLY INDUSTRIALIZED AREA, IN WESTERN SENSE, AND WERE POLLITICALLY LINKED TO BACKWARD SLOVAKIA; MIDDLE GERMANY WHICH BECAME GDR WAS INDUSTRIALIZED ONLY BY COMPARISON WITH EASTERN NEIGHBORES.

7. THESE WERE NOT ONLY FACTS OF LIFE. OTHERS INCLUDED DIVERSITY OF DEVELOPMENT LEVELS, GENERALLY RUNNING FROM NORTH TO SOUTH; DIVERSITY OF HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE, INCLUDING LONGER TRANDITIONS OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG POLES AND HUNGARIANS (AT LEAST IN UPPER CLASSES); AND DIVERSITY OF RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC MIXTURES, RANGING FROM A RESTRUCTURED PLAND 95 PERCENT POLISH
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CATHOLIC TO A ROMANIA WITH NON-SOVIET EUROPE'S LARGEST NATIONAL (MAGYAR) MINORITY. NEVERTHELESS, SHARED UNDERDEVELOPMENT WAS AMONG INESCAPABLE MAJOR FACTS OF LIFE THROUGHOUT AREA.

8. COLD WAR THRUST WHOLE AREA INTO FORCED MODERNIZATION ON SELF-SAME SOVIET MODEL. EACH COUNTRY WAS TURNED INTO ONE GIANT MONOPOLISTIC FIRM BUILDING HEAVY INDUSTRY WITH LABOR INPUTS FROM PEASANTRY AND CAPITAL INPUTS FROM

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SMS-02 SS-15 H-01 INR-10 EB-08
SP-02 /051 W

-----121005 071527Z /45

P R 071040Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0944
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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EXISTING STOCK AND SAVINGS ON CONSUMPTION. LINKAGES BETWEEN "FIRMS" WERE AWKWARD AND OVERWHELMINGLY DIRECTED TOWARD SOVIET PARENT COMPANY AT FIRST. IN EACH COUNTRY MODERNIZATION EFFORT WAS IMPOSED BY PARTY/POLICE DICTATORSHIP, WORKING THROUGH NATIONAL PLAN, ON SOVIET MODEL AND AT SOVIET BEHEST. STRUCTURE AND VERBIAGE OF BUREAUCRATIC NATIONAL STATES REMAINED INTACT, BUT OTHERWISE FACTS OF LIFE NOTED IN PARA 7 ABOVE WERE REPRESSED AND ALL EFFORTS CONCENTRATED ON SQUEEZING LABOR FROM AGRICULTURE AND CAPITAL FROM CONSUMPTION TO BUILD "MODERN" NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANTS.

9. EXPLOSIONS OF MID-1950'S IN EAST GERMANY AND HUNGARY, AND NEAR-EXPLOSION IN POLAND, WERE PRIMARILY ANTI-SOVIET, AND CONVINCED ALL RULING ELITES INCLUDING SOVIET THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO MODERATE REPRESSION, FILL NATIONAL FORMS WITH SOME NATIONAL CONTENT AND SHIFT ACCENT OF DEPENDENCE ON USSR FROM POLICE AND MILITARY TOWARD ECONOMIC, IF COMMUNIST RULE AND "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY" CONFIDENTIAL

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WERE TO BE MAINTAINED. FORTUNATELY FOR RULERS, WEST WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH DECOLONIZATION, SOVIET LEADERSHIP WAS BUOYED UP BY OPTIMISTIC COMPETITIVE SPIRIT ASSOCIATED IN RETROSPECT WITH KHRUSHCHEV, AND LARGE NEW RAW MATERIALS SURPLUSES WERE COMING ON LINE IN USSR. EXTERNAL CONDITIONS FOR EXPERIMENT WERE THEREFORE OPTIMAL.

10. INTERNAL CONDITIONS WERE ALSO, ON BALANCE, FAVORABLE. THERE HAD BEEN MASSIVE INCREASE IN ECONOMIC PLANT, AND THUS MORE MARGIN FOR MANEUVER. EVEN MORE, THERE HAD BEEN MASSIVE TRANSFER OF PEASANTS INTO CITIES, AND THIS, TOGETHER WITH MASS EDUCATION, WAS PRODUCING FIRST LARGE GENERATION OF EDUCATED CITY-DWELLERS. ALTHOUGH EDUCATION IN THESE PARTS BRINGS WITH IT LARGE DOSE OF TRADITIONAL NATIONAL-LIBERAL SPIRIT OF HISTORIC INTELLIGENTSIA, MOST OF THESE PEOPLE WERE SUFFICIENTLY GRATEFUL FOR SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT "SOCIALISM" HAD BROUGHT THEM, AND REGIME NEEDED THEM IN PRACTICAL TERMS TO HELP RUN GROWING AND INCREASINGLY COMPLEX ECONOMIC PLANTS. THUS, SPECIFIC EAST EUROPEAN FORM OF "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" SEEMED WORTH TRYING, AND WAS TIED, EVERYWHERE: LOYALTY AND HARD WORK FROM NEW TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA, IN RETURN FOR MODEST INCREMENTS IN MATERIAL WELFARE AND FORM AND SUBSTANCE OF NATIONAL SELF-ASSERTION.

11. IN A SENSE, MATERIAL WELFARE AND NATIONAL SELF-ASSERTION FOR FIRST-GENERATION EDUCATED URBANITES IS CLASSIC IN EAST EUROPE, AND IS HISTORIC ONLY IN SCALE ON WHICH IT HAS BEEN APPLIED. IT HAS AFFECTED BOTH PARTY AND STATE, SINCE PARTY HAS EXPANDED ALONG WITH STATE BUREAUCRACY IT CONTROLS AND PERMEATES, AND BOTH BEGAN TO BE DRAWN INCREASINGLY FROM SAME STRATUM IN 1950'S. APPLICATION HAS OBVIOUSLY NOT BEEN EASY, FOR SEVERAL REASONS. FIRST, CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIETS MUST BE CONVINCED AT EVERY STEP THEY CAN AND SHOULD PUT UP WITH IT, IN INTERESTS OF MAINTAINING "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY." SECOND, RECIPE HAS DIFFERENTIAL SOCIAL EFFECTS IN EACH COUNTRY. WHAT THEY ARE DEPENDS ON SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THEY ARE USUALLY MANAGEABLE. BUT THEY ALWAYS CAUSE TENSION -- MOST TYPICALLY BETWEEN WORKERS AND MORE FAVORED MANAGERS -- AND IF THERE ARE ENOUGH LINKAGES AMONG VARIOUS FORMS OF DISCONTENT, THE SPECTER OF RUNAWAY DEVELOPMENTS APPEARS. ALL REGIMES THUS DEVOTE MUCH ATTENTION AND EFFORT TO KEEPING DISCONTENTS COMPARTMENTALIZED -- SEPARATING WORKERS FROM INTELLECTUALS, OR WORKERS FROM WORKERS, OR NATIONALITIES FROM EACH OTHER -- AND VERY REASONABLE SO FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW. ONE EFFECT IS THAT INTEREST GROUPS REMAIN ILLEGITIMATE EVEN AS THEIR IMPORTANCE GROWS: IN FACT, COALITION POLITICS -- WHETHER OR NOT PLAYED OUT SOLELY WITHIN RULING PARTY -- IS MORE THAN EVER THE GAME, BUT WITHOUT THE NAME.

12. DIVERSITY IS TRIPLE PRODUCT OF THIS FORMULA. FIRST, SITUATIONS IN WHICH IT IS APPLIED ARE DIVERSE. RELATIVE SIZES OF INTELLIGENTSIA, WORKING CLASSES AND PEASANTRY, STRENGTH OF NATIONALIST TRADITION, MARGIN OF SOVIET TOLERANCE, RESOURCE ENDOWMENTS AND MAGNITUDE OF RESOURCES WHICH CAN BE DEVOTED TO MATERIAL WELFARE, STRENGTH OF PARTY DIFFER IN EACH COUNTRY. SECOND, ONE MAJOR EFFECT HAS BEEN TO STRENGTHEN CAPACITY FOR NATIONAL SELF-ASSERTION IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SUPERIOR RESOURCE ENDOWMENTS, OR SUPERIOR ACCESS TO ECONOMIC TIES WITH NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, OR BOTH: POLAND AND ROMANIA. THIRD, NATIONAL SELF-ASSERTION MEANS ASSERTION OF WHAT IS SPECIFIC IN NATIONAL EXPERIENCE, OFTEN -- IN EAST EUROPE AS ELSEWHERE -- AGAINST NEIGHBORS. RESULTS CAN BE ODD TO OUTSIDERS: IN COUNTRY LIKE BULGARIA, WHERE PRO-RUSSIAN SENTIMENT IS TRADITIONAL AND STILL WIDESPREAD, IT MAY MEAN DRAWING CLOSER TO USSR, AND HUNKERING DOWN ON MACEDONIAN ISSUE AT SAME TIME. BUT PATTERN IS GENERAL. CONFIDENTIAL

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13. HOWEVER, NATIONAL SELF-ASSERTION IS ALSO PURSUED VERY PRUDENTLY, SINCE NATIONAL ELITES ARE ALMOST AS SENSITIVE TO ITS DANGERS AS THEY ARE TO SATISFACTIONS. AND, AS KIND OF HEDGE, THEY REMAIN ATTACHED TO STRATEGY WHICH IS COMMON TO THEM ALL: CONTINUED MODERNIZATION THROUGH INDUSTRIALIZATION BY NATIONAL PLANNING, CONTINUED PARTY/ POLICE DIRECTION AND CONTROL, CONTINUATION OF "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" AMALGAMATING PARTY AND STATE BUREAUCRACIES OF EDUCATED SONS OF PEASANTS (AND SOME WORKERS, IF THERE WERE ANY TO START WITH).

14. REAL DRAMA OF EASTERN EUROPE IS THAT STRATEGY IS APPROACHING DEAD END IN COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY. AFTER GENERATION OF PRODIGIOUS GROWTH AND MODERNIZATION, WITH RISING LIVING STANDARDS AND INCREASING NATIONAL

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SMS-02 SS-15 H-01 INR-10 EB-08
SP-02 /051 W

-----122962 071834Z /42

P R 071040Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0945
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
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SELF-ASSERTION FOR EVERYONE, BUT ESPECIALLY FOR EXPANDED PARTY/STATE ELITE, APPROACHING END OF POSTWAR ERA IS INCREASINGLY INESCAPABLE FOR RULERS AND RULED ALIKE. CHILDREN OF EDUCATED SONS OF PEASANTS WILL NO

LONGER BE SATISFIED WITH "HISTORIC COMPROMISE", AND CAN NO LONGER BE REPLACED, SINCE COUNTRYSIDE HAS NO MORE WORKERS TO FURNISH. SOCIETIES CAN NO LONGER BE TRANSFORMED AND MANIPULATED BY SHIFTING MEN AND WOMEN FROM ONE SOCIAL CLASS TO ANOTHER. RAW MATERIALS SURPLUSES AT HOME ARE BEING EXHAUSTED EVEN WHERE THEY EXISTED, AND SOVIET RAW MATERIALS SURPLUSES ARE ALSO DWINDLING. CAPITAL/OUTPUT RATIOS ARE RISING EVERYWHERE.

15. RULING EUROPEAN COMMUNISM, IN OTHER WORDS, NOW FACES ITS EAR OF STABILITY, AND MUST BE RECYCLED ACCORDINGLY TO STAY IN POWER. TENSIONS WHICH ACCOMPANIED ADOPTION OF "HISTORIC COMPROMISE" -- AND CONTRIBUTED TO CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS OF 1968, ADOPTION OF NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM IN HUNGARY AND OF "INTEGRAL NATIONALISM" IN

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ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY -- PALE BY COMPARISON WITH TENSIONS REGIMES MUST NOW DEAL WITH. DECADE OF TURMOIL IN POLAND, PUNCTUATED BY REAL CRISES IN 1970 AND 1976, IS INTRODUCTION TO SHAPE OF FUTURE THROUGHOUT EAST EUROPEAN AREA.

16. IT MAY BE PAROCHIAL VIEW, BUT STAKES SEEM TO US HIGHER AND MORE PORTENTOUS THAN THOSE INVOLVED IN DEVELOPMENT OF "EUROCOMMUNISM" AMONG WESTERN NON-RULING PARTIES. IT IS TRUE THAT EVERY EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY IS RICHER, AND PERHAPS EVEN SMARTER, THAN IN 1944-45. IT SEEMS TRUE TO US THAT SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS EVOLVED IN SAME DIRECTION. FINALLY, HALF THE STRUGGLE IS ALREADY OVER: ROUGHLY MODERN SOCIETIES HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED, AND PROBLEM IS HOW TO RUN THEM SUCCESSFULLY. PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL TRANSITION SHOULD NOT, THEREFORE, BE UNDERESTIMATED. BUT MAGNITUDE OF TASK SHOULD NOT BE TRIVIALIZED EITHER. THROUGH FEROCIOUS DISCIPLINE, THESE COUNTRIES HAVE NOW ESTABLISHED INTEGRATED NATIONAL SOCIETIES PERHAPS COMPARABLE TO THOSE OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1914. COUNTRIES LIKE POLAND AND GDR ARE AMONG WORLD'S ELITE, IN TERMS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, AND 60-80/40-20 URBAN/RURAL RATION PUTS THEM IN FRANCO-GERMAN CLASS OF A GENERATION OR TWO AGO. BY SAME TOKEN, WORLD SHOULD BE SPARED SECOND EDITION OF TRAGEDY WHICH ACCOMPANIED WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN HOMESTRETCH IN FIRST HALF OF THIS CENTURY.

17. FACTORS OF TIMING ARE SOMETHING ELSE AGAIN, AND PERHAPS CONSTITUTE SAVING ELEMENT. LIKE LOCAL AND SOVIET LEADERS, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT EACH COUNTRY WILL EXHAUST VARIOUS OPTIONS UNDERPINNING POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY IN DIFFERENT ORDER AND IN DIFFERENT

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COMBINATIONS. IN THIS CONTEXT, CONTINUING DIFFERENCES IN DEVELOPMENT LEVELS ARE BASIC: MORE DEVELOPED NORTHERN COUNTRIES CAN BE EXPECTED TO COME UP ON DEADLINES FASTER THAN THOSE FURTHER SOUTH. CZECHS AND SLOVAKS, EAST GERMANS AND POLES SHOULD FACE PROBLEMS OF FALLING FACTOR PRODUCTIVITY AND EXHAUSTED AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE RESERVES BEFORE ROMANIANS AND BULGARIANS. NATIONALISM SHOULD RETAIN ITS POTENCY -- TO INTEGRATE OR DIVIDE SOCIETIES IN TRANSITION - LONGER IN SOUTH THAN IN NORTH. FOR SOME TIME YET, TYPE OF BUREAUCRATIC GRAYNES WE FIND PERSONIFIED IN HONECKER OR EARLIER IN NOVOTNY SHOULD BE MORE LIKELY LEADERSHP STYLE NORTHWEST OF BUCHAREST THAN PERSONALISM WE ARE ACCUSTOMED TO HERE. WE SHOULD EXPECT TO HEAR MORE ABOUT ROLE OF MILITARY IN YUGOSLAVIA (OR ROMANIA) THAN IN POLAND. AND POLISH AND HUNGARIAN WORKERS SHOULD BE MORE IMPORTANT POLITICALLY THAN BULGARIAN FOR YEARS TO COME; ROMANIANS HAVE JUST STARTED.

18. US POLICY IS PART OF EXTERNAL DYNAMICS WHICH WILL HELP DETERMINE WHO THESE INTERNAL DYNAMICS ARE PLAYED OUT. AREA UNIFORMITIES ARE BRINGING ALL AREA COUNTRIES UP AGAINST SAME HISTORICAL DEAD END, AND AREA DIVERSITIES ENSURE THEY WILL ARRIVE IN DISPERSED ORDER, AND NEED TO DEVELOP VARIED SOLUTIONS, TAKING NATIONAL SPECIFICS INTO ACCOUNT, WHEN THEY DO. A PLICY GEARED TO TREAT EACH COUNTRY INDIVIDUALLY IS TAILOR-MADE TO HELP WHERE WE CAN, AND HINDER WHERE WE CAN, IN DEFENDING AND PROMOTING US INTERESTS.

19. SOMETHING LIKE THE ABOVE, WE SUGGEST, IS APPROPRIATE FRAMEWORK FOR CURRENT TRENDS/THEMES AND COUNTRY PROFILE SECTIONS OF LUERS PRESENTATION. AT A MINIMUM, TRENDS/THEMES IDENTIFIED IN SUGGESTED FORMAT SEEM TO US DIFFICULT TO ORGANIZE AND PRESENT COHERENTLY WITHOUT SOME SUCH FRAMEWORK. SEEN FROM ROMANIA, SOME OF THESE THEMES ARE IMPORTANT, OTHERS LESS SO, AND WE IMAGINE THIS IS CASE
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FOR EVERY AREA COUNTRY. AGAIN, HOWEVER, IT MAY BE THAT DISPLAY OF DIVERSITY IS ENOUGH FOR PURPOSES OF THIS PRESENATION: SUGGESTIONS SET FORTH ABOVE CONCERNING REASONS WHY ARE INTENDED MERELY TO GILD LILY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, LEGISLATIVE TESTIMONY
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BUCHAR05483
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780322-1099
Format: TEL
From: BUCHAREST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780889/aaaacwqp.tel
Line Count: 439
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 30330467-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 194188
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1809692
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TESTIMONY ON EASTERN EUROPE BEFORE HIRC BY DAS LUERS
TAGS: PEPR, XH, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/30330467-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014